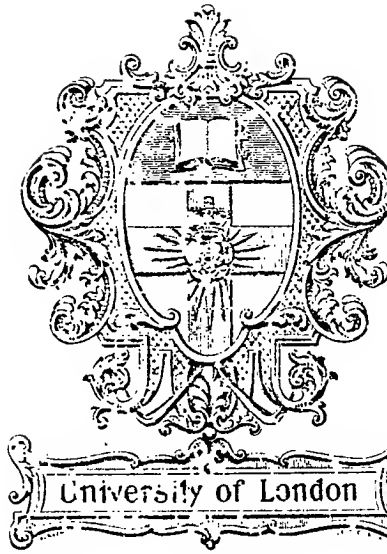

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1903.

THE DISSOLUTION

OF

THE AMERICAN UNION,

DEMANDED BY JUSTICE AND HUMANITY, AS THE INCURABLE ENEMY OF LIBERTY.

WITH A LETTER TO REV. DRS.

CHALMERS, CUNNINGHAM, AND CANDLISH,

ON CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVEHOLDERS:

AND A LETTER TO THE

MEMBERS OF THE FREE CHURCH

RECOMMENDING THEM TO SEND BACK THE MONEY OBTAINED FROM SLAVEHOLDERS TO BUILD THEIR CHURCHES AND PAY THEIR MINISTERS.

Addressed to the Abolitionists of Great Britain and Ireland.

BY HENRY C. WRIGHT,

OF AMERICA.

Institutions for men—not men for institutions.

"Have we separated ourselves from our Moderate Brethren to form alliance with Man-stealers."—REV. HENRY GREY, *Moderator of Free Assembly for* 1844.

"Is every Free Church to have a Slave-stone in it?"—REV. DR. DUNCAN, *of the Free Church.*

LONDON:

CHAPMAN, BROTHERS, & Co., 121, NEWGATE STREET,

FOR THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, AND HIBERNIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

SOLD BY GEORGE GALLIE, BUCHANAN STREET;
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MDCCCXLVI.

Price Twopence.

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HUMAN BROTHERHOOD,

VERSUS

NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD.

TO JAMES HAUGHTON, OF DUBLIN.

MAMORE COTTAGE, ROSENEATH,
October 13th, 1845.

DEAR FRIEND,—The following Letters are designed to call on the people of Great Britain and Ireland to aid the Abolitionists of America, to effect, BY CHRISTIAN, BLOODLESS MEANS, the dissolution of the American Union, as the implacable foe of liberty. Have they a right to give such aid? That the people of America have the right to annul this compact, all will admit; for they have asserted in their Declaration of Independence, that, "*when Governments fail to secure to the people life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, it is their* RIGHT AND THEIR DUTY TO ALTER OR ABOLISH THEM." That the Union never was designed nor adapted "to secure the blessings of liberty" to ALL of its inhabitants, but on the contrary, was designed and adapted to hold a part of them as *Slaves*—in the condition of "*chattels personal*"—will be made manifest in the following Letters.

But you will say, admitting that it is the "right and duty" of American Abolitionists to seek its overthrow,—*Is it not a violation of* INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ETIQUETTE FOR THE PEOPLE OF THIS KINGDOM TO AID THEM? It may be, and yet be their right and their duty to do so.

Human Governments are human expedients for human convenience. Nothing more. A government that cannot exist without the sacrifice of Man in his physical, intellectual, or spiritual nature, ought to be destroyed, and made to give place to one that shall be adapted, not to engender suspicions, envyings, and wrath, between man and man, and to array them, one against another, in deadly conflicts—but to promote love, forgiveness, mutual forbearance, and a feeling of common interest and brotherhood; and thus to bring "glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will among men." Human hearts should be knit together in brotherly love and sympathy, and we are bound to seek the peaceable overthrow of all human institutions that tend to drive them asunder. Con-

tinents may streteh and oceans roll between them, but human love and sympathy surmount these obstacles, and extend their kindly influenee around the globe. God has ereeted no barrier to the praetieal, universal BROTHERHOOD OF MAN. When states and nations do so, it is our duty to disregard them. Governments are appendages to man, not man to governments. They are ostensibly formed for the proteetion of human life and liberty. How absurd, how iniquitous to form an institution to proteet man, and then enslave and slaughter men to proteet the institution! As well make a hat to shelter the head, and then ent off the head to save the hat; or make a eoat to proteet the body, and then destroy the body to save the eoat. A politieal institution, old and venerable though it be, like an old garment, should be east aside, when it must be sustained by the saerifice of man. I attaeh no sanetity to institutions, but would surround man with absolute inviolability. I see God in man, and not in eonstitutions, nor in state or national organizations. Nationalism has supplanted human brotherhood—arrayed the ehildren of a eommon Father one against the other—and in the name and presenee of that Father, has drenched the earth with human blood, shed by a brother's hand.

The division of the earth into states and nations is the work of man. "God made of one blood all nations," and calls on every human beiog to look to Him and say, "OUR FATHER." Without regard to national organizations, He says to all,—"MY CHILDREN! LOVE ONE ANOTHER." We are all the ehildren of a common Father, and members of a common family; and our duties, as such, are prior and paramount to our duties as citizens; and when our obligations as members of a partieniar nation conflict with our duties as members of the human family, the former cease. Our affection and respeet for man, as MAN, should never be allowed to be supplanted by our regard for human governments; but we should act on the principle that INSTITUTIONS ARE FOR MEN—NOT MEN FOR INSTITUTIONS. Any institution that eannot exist without enslaving men, must be wrong; and by whomsoever it was founded, wherever it may exist, and by wbatever eombinations and enactments it may be supported, every man, by virtue of his existence as a MAN, is bound to seek its overthrow as the foe of our common nature. International etiquette and treaties are null and void when they forbid us to "feel for those in bonds as bound with them"—"to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free"—or "to love our neighbours as ourselves." Our duties as eitizens cease, when tbey eonflict with our duties as human beings; and *patriotism* beeomes a sin when it requires the saerifiee of HUMAN BROTHERHOOD.

Slaveholders have ever met the arguments of Abolitionists, by saying—"Slavery is a *political* institution, and is the eoneern of the States where it exists; and the people of non-Slave States

have no right to interfere with it." We have answered—"Slavery dehumanizes *our brother*, and makes merchandize of *our nature*. Whatever affects any *human being* affects us. The Slave is *our* brother, a child of *our* Father, and an inheritor of *our* eternal portion; therefore *his* stripes, wrongs, tears and sorrows are *ours;* and we are bound to *feel* and to ACT for him as we would for ourselves. We come to rescue *humanity* from the auction stand, and call on all who share in this divinely crowned and glorified nature to aid us. Human sympathy and obligation are not limited by geographical lines and national boundaries, by latitude and longitude, and regulated by the compass and the clock, but are extensive as human suffering and human need; and cannot be superseded, bounded, or modified by state and national arrangements."

So when it is said, the people of this kingdom have no right to bring their *combined moral and social influence* to bear on the Slave-breeding and Slaveholding Government of America, with a view to its destruction, we answer—"The people of Britain are human beings, the *Slaves* are their *brethren*, and no human arrangements can free them from their obligations to seek the abolition of Slavery wherever it exists; and of all human compacts and governments, which are *designed* or which *tend* to reduce any of the human race to Slavery, or to retain them in it."

Therefore I call on them, in the name of our common Father and of our common brotherhood, to aid us in urging the dissolution of the Union; and in arraying against it the moral and religious sentiment of mankind, till every Slaveholder shall be branded as a felon, and *till citizenship, in that Republic, shall be as infamous as membership in a band of highway robbers.* That Union was designed to perpetuate Slave-breeding, Slave-trading, and Slaveholding, so long as the Slaveholders wish to pursue these practices. Its overthrow is demanded by every consideration of mercy, justice, and expediency, and should be earnestly and perseveringly sought by every friend of mankind, *not by arms and blood*, but by urging the people of the non-Slave States to withdraw from their alliance with that sum of all villany, American Slavery; and leave the Southern lords of the lash alone in their infamy.

This is my justification for publishing these Letters in this kingdom. Have our fellow-beings claims upon us, as children of a common Father and members of a common family, superior to those which they have upon us as members of states and nations? Is humanity above citizenship? Is MAN above his incidents? Then am I justified in this appeal to the people of this kingdom; and they are justified in rendering the required assistance to the American Abolitionists in their efforts to procure the dissolution of the American Union as necessary to the abolition of Slavery.—Thine,

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

JAMES HAUGHTON'S ANSWER.

35, Eccles Street, Dublin,
October 27th, 1845.

Dear Friend,—If I were to defer answering your Letter, until after I had consulted the members of our Committee, I could not write you for several days: so I will at once give you my own views and feelings on the subject.

When our friend Garrison raised the cry, "Dissolution of all connexion with Slaveholders," my heart leaped across the Atlantic to unite with the noble sentiment. Indeed you know that I carry my opinion on this matter to what is called the extreme of Radicalism, so that I am prepared to go fully with you, and you may use my name in any way you think fit. But the question is, Is the step you are about to take a wise one? It will, no doubt, be branded as an unjustifiable interference on the part of any British subject, to make any attempt to sever the union between the Northern and Southern States. That cry I would not mind; for I think with you that men are fully justified in interfering, BY MORAL MEANS, for the overthrow of evil wherever it may exist. Our Saviour was a Reformer of this stamp. All mankind are brethren; and as such, it is the duty of each one of us to benefit our fellow-men whenever we have it in our power to do so.

But mankind are divided into different nations; they have formed different Constitutions for their governments, and it seems to be the general sentiment that such regulations should not be directly interfered with, unless on exceedingly good grounds. Now I think Slavery is a good ground of objection to a friendly intercourse with any nation that practices it; and you have clearly proved that so long as the present Constitution of the United States exists, Slavery, in your country must continue. I am therefore ready to raise my voice with yours for THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

Yours affectionately,

James Haughton.

H. C. Wright.

DISSOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

THE following Letters were originally addressed to the Editor of the "GLASGOW ARGUS," and were inserted in that paper:—

LETTER I.

MAMORE COTTAGE, ROSENEATH,
August 8th, 1845.

SIR,—The formation of the existing political Union between the American States, was an insult to God, and an outrage upon man; and its overthrow is demanded by every consideration of justice and humanity. At a recent meeting of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, a resolution was adopted—

"That it is the duty of the friends of liberty and equal rights in Great Britain, and throughout the world, to COMBINE, and by *Christian*, *peaceful*, and *bloodless* means, to seek the DISSOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN UNION, as the gigantic enemy of freedom, and the rights of man."

If consistent with the objects of your paper, I should like to occupy its columns to state some facts touching the origin and administration of that national government.

That the Union is a *Slaveholding* compact, will be made manifest by the facts to be presented—by which I mean, in the language of John Quincy Adams, "That the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of Slavery, is the vital and animating spirit of the national Government."

THE CONVENTION THAT FRAMED THE CONSTITUTION.

The Declaration of Independence, in which the Colonies formally renounced allegiance to Great Britain, was made July 4th, 1776. Soon after, July 12th, Congress appointed a Committee to draw up Articles of Confederation. But this being found inadequate to the wants of the States under their new circumstances, a Convention was called, to meet in Philadelphia in June 1787, to remodel the Government. It continued its sittings in secret sessions till September 17th. Twelve States were represented in it, eight of which were *Slaveholding*, *i. e.*, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, were non-Slaveholding. The Convention was composed of forty Delegates, of whom *twenty-five* were from

Slave-States, and a majority Slaveholders. When met, they chose a *Slaveholder* to preside over their deliberations.—What could be expected from such a Convention in behalf of *human* rights? Slave-breeding, Slave-trading, and Slaveholding did then, and still does, constitute the staple interest of one-half the States represented (New York and New Jersey having since abolished Slavery, the former in 1799, the latter in 1804), and this was the prominent interest for which the Convention provided constitutional support. The man must have extraordinary credulity who could believe that such a Convention would frame a government for the support of justice and equal rights.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

This document was completed and signed by the Slave-holding President, September 17th, 1787. The preamble is as follows:—

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect *Union*, establish *justice*, ensure *domestic tranquillity*, provide for the *common defence*, promote the *general welfare*, and secure the blessings of *liberty* to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish the following Constitution for the United States of America."

All very plausible; but see what that Convention understood by this, and whether the Slaves were included. Article I., Sect. ii., clause 3, of the Constitution runs thus:—

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included in this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons*."

Rufus King, a member of the Convention, says,—"These persons are the Slaves."

The meaning of this clause of the Constitution is given in the practical operations of the Government, from its foundation to the present moment, and it is this—one freeman, owner of 5 Slaves in Virginia, counts as much, in the basis of representation, as 4 freemen in Massachusetts—3 for his 5 Slaves, and one for himself; one man in Georgia, owner of 10 Slaves, counts as many as 7 men in New York who hold no Slaves; one man in Alabama, owner of 20 Slaves, as many as 13 men in Pennsylvania who hold no Slaves; and so on. "Three-fifths" of the Slaves are added to the owners to increase their numbers and influence, in the proportion of three to five, six to ten, twelve to twenty, thirty to fifty, sixty to one hundred, &c. One man owning 1000 Slaves in Tennessee is equal to 601 freemen in Ohio who own no Slaves; 10,000 men in the Slave States, owners of 50,000 Slaves, are counted equal to 40,000 freemen holding no Slaves in the non-Slave States. In round numbers, there are 300,000 Slaveholders, and 3,000,000 of Slaves in the United States. In computing the number of inhabitants to form the basis of representation, these 300,000 Slaveholders are reckoned equal to 2,100,000 freemen

that hold no Slaves; or, in exercising the elective franchise in the election of a President and Congress of the United States, these 300,000 Slaveholders, in effect, cast as many votes as 2,100,000 freemen who are non-Slaveholders. So in the exercise of the legislative, judicial, and executive functions of the Government, the 300,000 Slave-breeders wield an influence equal to that of 2,100,000 men who abhor Slavery. Thus, this clause of the Constitution offers a reward to Slave-breeding, Slave-trading, and Slaveholding, by proportioning a man's political influence to the number of his Slaves. It considers a man qualified to aid in accomplishing the ends proposed in the preamble, *i. e.*, "to establish justice," and "to secure the blessings of liberty," in proportion to his skill and success in stealing and enslaving men!

What greater encouragement could the Constitution have given to Slavery, except by saying five-fifths instead of three? As the article now stands (and it cannot be changed, except by the overthrow of the Government, while any State sees fit to hold Slaves,) it considers a man as having multiplied himself in proportion as he blots others from the sum of human existence. Four men in New York, who by honest industry accumulate fortunes in houses and lands, however just and upright they may be, can equal, in political importance, only one man in a Slave State, who, by fraud and violence, reduces five men to Slavery. One man in New Orleans, who, by unsurpassed villany, has turned 1000 immortal beings into beasts, is invested by this act with as much political power as 601 men in Boston, who, by honest dealing, have become fifty times as rich in gold and silver. I reduce 10,000 horses to the condition of "personal chattels," and the Constitution gives me no reward; I still count but one man in the Government; but if I can turn the bodies and souls of 10,000 MEN into goods and chattels, it rewards me with the power of 6,001 honest freemen in the legislative, judicial, and executive councils of the nation!

Had the clause read "three-fifths" of horses, who can doubt that every man would have sought to increase his stock of horses? The owner of 1000 horses would have been equal to 601 freemen who owned no horses. It cannot be doubted that such a premium would have acted as a motive to breeding, and stealing horses; but the premium is offered to Slave-breeding and to Man-stealing, and it has acted as a mighty stimulant to the perpetuation of this sum of all villany. It offers the highest possible reward, not to justice and liberty, but to injustice and Slavery. By this fatal, terrible clause, the rule is established as the basis of the Government, that, the more human beings a man can steal and enslave, the better is he qualified to wield political power—that men are qualified to vote, to legislate, to judge, and execute, in proportion to the number of immortal beings whom they have converted into "chattels;" and by the power conferred on Slaveholders by this clause, they have, in half a century, increased the number of

Slaves from 300,000 to 3,000,000, and enlarged the bounds of Slavery from 210,000 square miles, to a fraction less than 1,000,000.

According to the construction put upon it by the Convention, and by every department of the Government, it was designed to transfer to their oppressors the elective franchise of three-fifths of the Slaves, and to deny it to the two-fifths altogether. As J. Q. Adams says, "Their elective franchise was transferred to their masters, and the oppressors were to represent the oppressed."

There are about thirty members at this time in Congress as the representatives of the "*three-fifths*" of the Slaves, but in whose election the Slaves had no voice. The Slaves are added to the number solely to increase the power of the masters. "Three-fifths" of the Slaves are counted as *persons*, while, in all other respects, they are held and used as "*chattels*." Even in this, though called *persons*, they are counted as so many horses or mules. It might as well have added "three-fifths" of the cattle, or the land. Two-fifths of the Slaves are not even counted in numbering the population to form the basis of representation.

Through the political power conferred by this Article of the Constitution, *Slaveholders* have ever controled the government. At this moment a majority of both Houses of Congress are *Slave-breeders* and *Slave-traders*, and the abettors of Slavery. Of the eleven who have filled the office of President of the United States, seven have been Slave-breeders; and of the fifty-six years and six months of its national existence, forty-four years and five months have been administered by them. The Slave-breeders, as a class, constitute only *one*-fortieth of the population; yet on every question of national interest, domestic and foreign, of peace or war, of life or death, they wield *sixteen*-fortieths of the power of the government. Pennsylvania has thirty electoral votes in choosing a President; a certain number of Slave States, with a *free* population of 200,000 less, have fifty-three. Five out of the nine judges of the Supreme Court are *Slave-breeders*. By far the largest number of the highest offices in the army and navy are filled by persons of the same stamp.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LETTER II.

MAMORE COTTAGE, ROSENEATH,
August 9th, 1845.

SIR,—I proceed to consider other Articles of the Constitution. Art. I., Sect. 9:—

"The *importation of such persons* as any of the States shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such *importation*, not exceeding 10 dollars, (£2 sterling) for each person."

Who would suppose that under the sanction of the apparently harmless phrase—"*Importation of such persons,*" the African Slave-trade was authorised and vigorously prosecuted for twenty years? But it was inserted expressly to bind the whole nation to countenance and protect this trade. In May, 1789, the first Congress under the new Constitution, accordingly imposed the duty of ten dollars on each Slave imported. Thus the trade became a large source of revenue to the Government; and members, deacons, elders, and ministers of churches, legislators, governors, and presidents, engaged in the murderous traffic, directly or indirectly, and were yet counted great men, and Christians!

On the tombstone of one of those marauders upon humanity, in the town of Bristol, State of Rhode Island, I once read the record of his piety and goodness! He was on his way as captain of a slaver from Africa to one of the Slave-trading ports of America, with about 500 victims. The plague broke out among the Slaves. Many died and were cast into the sea. Many, as the sailors that survived testified, were thrown overboard before life was extinct, and were instantly devoured by sharks that followed in the vessel's wake. At length the captain was seized, died, and was thrown overboard. A large marble monument was reared to his memory by his friends in Bristol. That marble enumerated at great length his virtues as a son, a husband, a father, a friend, a neighbour, a man of business, and as a church member. The whole story ended with the words—

"HE FELL ASLEEP IN JESUS!!"

Such has been the character of the religion of America ever since the present Union was formed. It countenances men in the foulest crimes while they live, and when they die, inscribes upon their tombs,—"He fell asleep in Jesus."

In 1808, the *Foreign* Slave-trade was interdicted. Why? Solely because the market was overstocked with *human* cattle; and the owners of Slaves wished to have the foreign supply checked, to give increased value to the Slaves on hand. In 1820, that trade was pronounced *piracy* by Congress, punishable with death. Not from any principle of justice or humanity on the part of the government, as the fact that Congress continued to license the domestic Slave-trade in the national capital, charging each keeper of a Slave-depot 400 dollars per annum, proves; (a trade, if possible, far more inhuman and execrable than the foreign), but solely to encourage the breeding of Slaves at home, and to make the home trade more brisk and profitable. The law that declared the African Slave-trade piracy enhanced the value of Slaves in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, 40 per cent.; and gave tenfold vigour to the horrible business of breeding Slaves in these States for the more southern and western Slave States. If traffic in Slaves between Virginia and Africa be piracy, so is it between Washington and New Orleans. The principle is the

same. If he who traffics in Slaves in Africa deserves to be hung as a pirate, so does every president and member of Congress who buys or sells a Slave in the Slave markets of the national capital.

Art. IV., Sect. 2:—

"No person *held to service or labour* in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from *such service or labour*, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom *such service or labour* may be due."

Who would suppose that this clause was *designed* to make, and has for half a century actually made, the whole territory of the United States a hunting ground for Slaveholders? There is not one foot of land in that nation where the fugitive can say—"I am free." "This clause," said Mr Madison, "was expressly inserted to enable owners of Slaves to reclaim them." Whoever fills the presidential office is bound, by his oath, to *re-enslave*, by person or by proxy, those who escape from their masters; and, if need be, call out the whole military force of the nation to execute this deed of infamy. Thus did WASHINGTON and his compeers, for he was the Slaveholding President of the Convention that formed the compact, after spending 300,000,000 dollars, and slaying over 200,000 human beings to obtain their own freedom, bind themselves and the nation to seize and return every Slave who should attempt to free himself by flight.

The history of the United States, in its efforts to return runaway Slaves, is replete with incidents more thrilling than can be found upon the record of this world, and all done under authority of this article of the Constitution. Let one among many that have come under my own observation suffice:—

A young female Slave ran away from Maryland; came to Philadelphia; married there; became the mother of three children; had a happy and virtuous home. She was tracked by the two-legged blood-hounds of Slavery: was found, and brought before the court of that city. There she stood in the criminal box, for claiming to be a human being rather than a piece of property. Her husband was by her side; two children hanging by her gown, and one folded in her arms, and she about to become the mother of a fourth. She was condemned as the Slave of the claimant, and given up to him to be taken from her husband and children, to toil on the plantations of the South as a Slave. That her child to be born might not become a Slave, the woman was ordered to be imprisoned till it should be born. There in a dungeon she gave birth to a child. The next day her babe was taken from her and put into the Poor-House, and the mother was consigned to the Slaveholder. He took her on his way towards the South. Maternal anguish gave sharpness to her mind and vigour to her body. She escaped the first night from the monster, and in darkness, and alone, through woods and swamps, made her way back to Pennsylvania. The Slaveholder

came back, and watched at the door of the Poor-House, knowing well that she would return where her *heart* was. But the woman was kept away by the Abolitionists, and was sent to New York. To elude the keenness of the Slave-hunters, and get the child to her was the next step. That child was *drugged* to a deep sleep, put into a *travelling bag*, given to the charge of a woman who was in the secret, by her taken on board of a steamer, amid the Slave-hunters, unknown to them and unsuspected, and by her carried to New York, and put into the hands of its mother. She fled with her babe to Massachussetts, was tracked by the Slave-hunters, but was ultimately landed safe under the protection of Britain, in Upper Canada, where her husband and other children joined her, and where they now live.

Art. IV., Sect. 4:—

"The United States shall protect each State against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive thereof, against *domestic violence.*"

This clause of the Constitution was designed to guard against efforts of the Slaves to gain their freedom by *arms*, as the former article was to guard against their obtaining it by flight. It pledges the whole power of the nation to destroy the Slaves, if, in imitation of Washington, they attempt to assert and defend their liberty by violence. By these two clauses the whole nation is pledged to suppress all efforts of Slaves to emancipate themselves; and yet it adopts for its watch-word, "Resistance to Tyrants is Obedience to God." They fought seven years to assert their own freedom, and their right of armed-defence; and then entered into a compact to murder their Slaves if they attempted to defend themselves. No wonder Jefferson exclaimed, "What an inconsistent being is man! who will spend oceans of treasure and blood to free himself, and then inflict upon his fellows a bondage, one hour of which is more intolerable than ages of that which he arose in rebellion to oppose! There is not an attribute of the Almighty that could take part with Slaveholders in a contest with their Slaves."

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LETTER III.

MAMORE COTTAGE, ROSENEATH,
August 10th, 1845.

SIR,—Did the framers of the Constitution *intend* that the Government should protect and encourage men in *breeding*, *buying*, *selling*, and *holding* Slaves? They did; but before I proceed to exhibit evidence of this, I would call attention to a peculiar feature of that document.

It is observable that the word *Slave*, or *Slavery*, does not once occur in it. The reason is given in the debates on Art. 4. sect. 2, in the Convention of North Carolina, called to ratify or reject the Constitution. A Mr Iddell remarked in the debate, that

"Though the word *Slave* be not mentioned, this is the meaning of it. The Northern Delegates, owing to their particular scruples on the subject of Slavery, did not choose the word *Slave* to be mentioned. This clause in the Constitution was inserted for the express purpose of enabling Slaveholders to obtain from the *free* States their runaway Slaves."

So the Northern Delegates, whose consciences would not allow them to insert the word *Slave* or *Slavery* in the organic law of the Government, consented to wrap up all the crimes, the miseries and horrors of Slavery, in the less offensive garb of "*three-fifths of all other persons*"—"*the importation of such persons*"—and "*persons held to service or labour.*" Clothed in this "purple and fine linen"—the infant monster was carefully provided for as the nation's pet, and the American Constitution was made the Gibraltar of American Slavery.

DEBATES IN THE CONVENTION THAT FORMED THE CONSTITUTION.

The design of that Convention in introducing the items into the Constitution upon which I have commented, may be learned from the debates on those provisions. James Madison, afterwards President of the Republic for eight years, was a member, and kept an account of the debates from day to day. His report has been published, and the debates, as reported by him, relative to the meaning and intent of the Articles in the Constitution above alluded to, are before me. According to these, the members did understand those provisions as *designed* to bind the nation to the support of Slavery, and they were introduced as matters of *compromise* between the North and South. In the debate of July 11th, 1787, Madison himself said, "*The institution of Slavery and its consequences formed the line of demarcation.*" Every speaker admits that those provisions refer to Slaves—that they are intended to give security and value to *Slave* property—that they bind the nation to protect Slaveholders in enslaving men, and to give effect to those provisions, touching the basis of representation, runaway Slaves, the Slave-trade, and Slave insurrections. "The division," it was said, "lay between the *Northern* and *Southern*." The Slaves, by that Convention, in the language of one of its members, were regarded as "mere property, not free agents, having no personal liberty, no facility of acquiring property, and, like other property, themselves entirely at the will of the master." One member "lamented that such property existed, but as it did exist, it required security in the Constitution." One says, "If the Northern States consult their interest they will not oppose the increase of Slaves, which will increase the commodities of which

they will become the carriers." Another said, "If Slavery be wrong, it is justified by the example of all the world. In all ages, half of mankind have been Slaves." Another contended, that the "importation of Slaves from Africa would be for the interests of the whole nation. The more Slaves, tho more produce to employ the carrying trade." One said, "It was better to let the Southern States import Slaves than to part with them, if they made that a *sine qua non*." One Slaveholder said, "He had prejudices against the Northern States before he came to the Convention, but he had found them as liberal and candid as any men whatever," *i.e.*, as ready to countenance, support, and help to perpetuate Slavery. One man, Luther Martin, said, (honoured be his name!)—

"We appealed to the Supreme Being for His assistance in our struggle for our own liberty, and now, when we had scarcely arisen from our knees from supplicating His mercy and protection, *we were inserting in the Constitution of our Government provisions*, not only putting it out of its power to restrain and prevent the Slave-trade, but even encouraging that most infamous traffic, by giving States *power and influence in the Union in proportion as they cruelly and wantonly sported with the rights of men.* It is a solemn mockery of, and an insult to, that God whose protection we had then implored; and could not fail to hold us up to detestation, and *render us contemptible to every true friend of liberty in the world.*"

There spoke the spirit of truth and of prophecy.

That Convention acted in *secret*, but its debates and its doings have been given to the world: and as to the principles by which it was actuated, and tho measures which it adopted in reference to the rights and liberties, the temporal and eternal destiny of the injured and unoffending Slaves in their midst, no band of highway robbers ever showed more utter disregard to truth, to honour, to justice, and humanity, than did that assemblage of forty men, headed by GEORGE WASHINGTON. They pledged a nation to the support of a system "made up (as Rowland Hill said) of every crime that *treachery, cruelty*, and *murder* can invent," and which (as Pitt said) "is an outrage upon justice, and only another name for *fraud, robbery*, and *murder*." The debates in that Convention, as reported by Madison, are enough to call down upon it and the Government which it framed, the execration of mankind and the vengeance of insulted Heaven. I could give many more extracts from it; but enough has been quoted to show that the Convention *intended* to make "*Slaveholding, Slave-breeding*, and *Slave-trading, the foundation of the policy of the Federal Government.*"

IN THE CONVENTIONS CALLED BY THE SEVERAL STATES

To adopt the Constitution, the same was understood and admitted, though many individuals deprecated this, and opposed the adoption of it because it was so. In the Virginia Convention, Madison says of the clause touching runaway Slaves—"This clause was

expressly inserted to enable owners of Slaves to reclaim them.' Alexander Hamilton (afterwards Secretary of State under Washington, and a member of the Convention that framed the Constitution) says of those clauses that I have quoted:—

"These regulations were the result of the spirit of *accommodation* which governed the Convention, and without this indulgence (to Slavery) no Union could have been formed; and considering the peculiar advantages conceded to the North by the South, it is entirely just that they (the Slaveholders) should be gratified."

So, rather than no Union, better "make a covenant with death, and enter into an agreement with hell!!" In the South Carolina Convention, C. C. Pinkney, who was a member of the Convention that framed the Constitution, said—

"By this settlement we have secured an *unlimited* importation of Slaves for twenty years; we have obtained a right to recover our Slaves in whatever part of America they may take refuge; *which is a right we never had before*. In short, considering all circumstances, we have made the best terms for the security of this *species of property* it was in our power to make. We would have made better if we could; but on the whole I do not think them bad."

In some of the State Conventions individuals considered that the Constitution would enable them at some *future* day to abolish Slavery: yet all admitted that for the time being it bound them to support it. In the Massachusetts Convention a *Wm. Neal* said—

"He was obliged to bear witness against every thing that should favour the making merchandise of the bodies of men; and therefore he could not put his hand to the Constitution."

General Thompson exclaimed—

"Shall it be said that after we have established our own freedom, we make Slaves of others? Oh! *Washington*, what a name has he had! How he has immortalised himself! But he holds those in Slavery who have as good a right to be free as he has; he is still for self: and, in my opinion, THE CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON HAS SUNK FIFTY PER CENT!"

Washington lived and died a Slaveholder! This one black spot upon his fame, like the plague-spot upon the human body, will spread, as the nature of the crime of Slaveholding is understood, until it pollutes and deforms all that seemed fair and honourable in his character. He will stand upon history as a Slaveholder, and this, like the crime of a convicted felon, will be all of his character which the purified vision of mankind will be able to see.

Thus have I endeavoured to show what is the essential nature of the Union, and what were the intentions of its founders: (1) from the nature of the Convention that framed it; (2) from the terms of the Constitution itself; (3) from the speeches of its framers; and (4) from the construction put upon it by the State Conventions, called to ratify or reject it. All combine to prove that the whole nation, by the present compact, is bound to support and perpetuate Slavery. In my next, I will give other facts illustrating the Slaveholding character of that Republic.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LETTER IV.

MAMORE COTTAGE, ROSENEATH,
August 11th, 1845.

SIR,—In 1789, the present Government of the United States went into operation under the Presidency of Washington. One of the first objects of attention was to settle certain points in reference to Slavery and the Slave-trade. In the debates of May 13th, 1789, on the bill to lay a duty on "imported" Slaves, one speaker, a Virginian, said—

"That Virginia had her compliment of Slaves already, and was careless about recruiting her stock, as the natural increase (the home-business of *Slave-breeding*) would be sufficient; but gentlemen ought to let their neighbours (the Carolinas and Georgia) get supplied before they imposed such a burden upon the '*importation*.' He knew the business was viewed in an odious light to the Eastward, because the people there could do their own work; but gentlemen ought to have some feeling for others."

One speaker said—

"We have no right to consider whether the *importation* of Slaves be proper or not; the *Constitution* gives us no power on that point."

One said—

"It was the fashion of the day to favour the liberty of the Slaves. What are they to do if they are discharged? Work for a living? Experience shows that they will not. Will Virginia set her Negroes free? When this practice comes to be tried there, the *sound of liberty will loose those charms which make it grateful to the ravished ear!*"

What cold-hearted villany! The clause was adopted—10 dollars per head for every man, woman, and child stolen from Africa, and "*imported!*" went into the national exchequer; and thus the Government for twenty years was supported by Man-stealing. The measure gave national character, respectability, and license to the Slave-trade. Such was the actual result.

February 11th, 1790.—An Address was presented to Congress, from the Society of *Friends* in New York, against the Slave-trade. In the debates on that occasion, one speaker says—"If Congress interfered with Slave property, it would sink it in value, and be injurious to citizens in the Southern States." Another says—"The rights of the Southern States ought not to be threatened, and their property endangered, to please a people unaffected by the consequences." One says—"If the *importation* was crushed, the value of a Slave would be increased." Another says—

"If they were to consult that *Book* which claims our regard, they will find that Slavery is not only *allowed*, but *commended*. Their SAVIOUR has allowed it! They will find that Slavery has been no novel doctrine since the days of Cain. Is the whole morality of the United States confined to the Quakers? Is it to them we owe our present happiness? Did they, by their arms, establish our Independ-

cuce? They were generally opposed to it. Why, then, on their application, shall we injure men who, at the risk of their lives, secured to us our liberty and property?"

February 12th, 1790.—A memorial was presented from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, signed by Benjamin Franklin, as President, against the Slave-trade. In the debate one says—

"Gentlemen who had been present at the formation of the Constitution, could not avoid the recollection of the pain and difficulty which the subject caused in that body; the members from the Southern States were *so tender upon this point* (the 'importation' point), that they had well nigh broken up without coming to any determination; however, from the *extreme desire of forming a Union*, they were induced mutually to concede, and the Constitution zealously guarded what they agreed to. If we examine the Constitution, we shall find the expressions relative to this subject (*Slavery*) *cautiously expressed*, and *more punctiliously guarded*, than on any other point."

Another said—

"The Slave States would never have entered into the Union unless their property (Slaves) had been guaranteed to them. We labour under difficulties enough from the late war. A gentleman can hardly come from the south with a servant (a Slave) or two, either to this place (New York), or Philadelphia, but there are persons trying to *seduce his servants to leave him*."

The memorials were committed to a committee, which reported, and a debate ensued. One speaker

"Begged Congress to beware before they went too far; to attend to the interests of the whole (Slave) States, as well as to the memorials of a Society of Quakers, who came forward to blow the trumpet of sedition, and to destroy that Constitution which they had not in the least contributed to establish."

Another asked—

"Has not the Almighty made our country opulent, and shed the blessings of prosperity on our land, *notwithstanding all the Slaves*, and must we now be ruined (the Slave-trade stopped) on account of the tender consciences of a few scrupulous individuals who differ from us on this point?"

Nothing was done during that Congress, or during the administration of Washington, except to impose the duty of 10 dollars per head on each "*imported!*" Slave; and, by the following enactment, provide facilities for Slaveholders to seize and re-enslave their self-emancipated Slaves.

In 1793, an Act entitled "An Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their master," was passed. Sect. III. runs thus—

"That when a person held to labour in any of the States or territories under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the States or territories, the person to whom such labour or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labour, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the State wherein such arrest shall be made; and upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge, either by oral testimony, or affidavit taken

before, and certified by, a magistrate of any such State, that the person arrested doth, under the laws of the State from which he or she fled, owe service to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent, or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labour to the State from which he or shefled."

Sect. IV. provides "that any person who shall harbour or conceal such fugitive from labour (runaway Slave) shall forfeit and pay the sum of 500 dollars."

This Act was approved by Washington, as President, February 12th, 1793.

I have introduced these extracts to show by what arguments and means less than 300,000 Slaveholders have contrived to make "Slave-breeding and Slave-trading the whole foundation of the policy of the federal Government."

Jefferson came to the presidential office in 1801. The territory of Louisiana then belonged to the French. He as well as Washington, was a Slaveholder. To extend the arena of Slavery, he and his fellow-Slaveholders caused the federal Government to purchase Louisiana for *ten millions* of dollars. Under the administration of Madison, that commenced in 1809, Florida was purchased of Spain for *fifteen millions* of dollars. The object of the Government in obtaining this territory, was to open a market for Slaves, and to encourage Slave-breeding, the staple business of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky.

In 1800, there were six Slave States—now there are fourteen. In 1800, Slavery covered a territory of 208,979 square miles—now it is spread over 976,115 square miles; a fraction less than *one million*. Such has been the growth of Slavery, under the fostering care of the Union, in less than half a century. What will it be in the year 1900, if that Union be not dissolved? For it never will be reformed. It cannot be. A change of the Constitution, as to the support of Slave-breeding, Slave-trading, and Slaveholding, would be —a dissolution of the Union. When it was formed, only 300,000 Slaves were held in its tyrant embrace—now there are *three millions*—a tenfold increase; and the Slaveholders calculate on a tenfold increase in the next fifty years, now they have Texas to encourage Slave-breeding and the trade. Mr Holms, of South Carolina, said in Congress last spring, in reference to the admission of Texas, that "it was confidently expected that, in less than half a century, there would be *twenty millions* of Slaves in the United States; and he rejoiced in the prospect." This increase he looked for from the nursing care extended to Slavery by the Union, in obtaining Texas for a Slave-market.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LETTER V.

MAMORE COTTAGE ROSENEATH,
July 12th, 1845.

SEMINOLE INDIANS.

SIR,—Allow me to direct attention to the war waged by the American Union against the Indians of Florida, under Jackson and Van Buren, and the causes of that war. That tribe is now exterminated. Why? To preserve, propagate, and perpetuate Slavery. The facts are these, as they stand on the record of that Republic.

The fundamental law of Slavery is, *that "the child shall follow the condition of the mother."* If the mother is a Slave, her master owns her child, and all her posterity. Some years ago, a young female Slave fled from her Christian (?) civilised (?) owner in Georgia to find protection among the savages in the swamps and everglades of Florida. She was welcomed to the wigwams and sympathies of these wild men. She became the wife of their chief, and by him had a daughter. That daughter became the wife of *Osceola*, who ultimately became the chief of his tribe. It was found out by the Georgia Slaveholder that she was his Slave; and she was seized by a Government officer, to be restored. Osceola attacked the party that had bereaved him of his wife, and retook her. The cry of Indian massacre was raised by Slaveholders. The Union rushed to the defence of the *"peculiar* institution," proclaimed war against the Seminoles; carried it on with unmitigated cruelty for five years, under the leadership of the Slaveholder, Jackson; and, at an expense of forty millions of dollars, exterminated the tribe, that it *might no longer be an asylum* for the fugitives from whips and chains.

In 1836, a member of Congress stated in his place, that—

"It was common, under pretext of reclaiming fugitive Slaves, to seize and carry off and enslave the wives and children of the Indians. The famous Osceola himself had his wife taken from him by a Government officer, and by that officer she was chained to a log. This has caused the Florida war, which has produced such a waste of treasure, the loss of so much national and individual honour, and of so many valuable lives."

In the prosecution of that war the Union sent to Cuba, and obtained a pack of *bloodhounds* as auxiliaries to her human troops. Osceola, under the protection of a promise of safety and a flag of truce, came to the American camp, was treacherously seized, chained, and lodged in a dungeon, and there left to die. Many bloody details of that war are before me. I cannot forbear giving one or two specimens of the spirit in which it was conducted.

An officer engaged in connexion with Cuba bloodhounds in hunting the Indians, says,—

"The Indians have a town on the *Oak-la-wa-ha*, have collected their women and children there, and are planting and feel secure. (It was a period of *truce*.) If broken and dispersed, *their wives captured*, and fields laid waste, I am certain they will all come in immediately. It is worth the trial, and the season is fair now."

On the departure of a company from Charleston, S.C., to aid in hutchering the Indians, for harbouring the runaway Slaves of Christian (?) whites, the *Charleston Observer*, the leading Presbyterian paper of the South, says,—

"It may not be improper to suggest the propriety of publicly commending in prayer, on the Sabbath, this expedition. No doubt that petitions for the safety, and success, and return of the *patriotic band*, who have gone forth from the midst of us, will meet with a cordial and earnest response!"

This reminds me of an incident in the Convention which formed the Union. It was found very difficult to adjust Slavery and the Slave-trade, and to give them their appropriate place in the confederacy. The North and the South could not agree. Some Northern members were determined to resist all compromise with Slavery. The Southerners were fixed never to come into the Union without strong guarantees to their great business of Slave-breeding and Slave-trading. As all hope seemed to be about to be given up, one shrewd member proposed that they should have a season of *prayer*, and invoke the aid of the Almighty on their efforts to effect a compromise. It was agreed to. That Convention of Slave-breeders and Slave-traders bowed the knee in prayer. They arose, and soon the desired compromise was made and the Union formed, whose "vital and animating principle was SLAVERY." One of the members thus indignantly expresses his abhorrence of this blasphemy:—

"We have appealed to the Supreme Being for his assistance in forming our Government, and we are now encouraging this most infamous traffic in Slaves, and it ought to be considered as an insult to that God whose protection we have implored! We have scarcely arisen from our knees in prayer, and now we give to men power and influence in the Union, in proportion as they cruelly sported with the rights of their fellow-creatures! It would justly expose us to the vengeance of Him who is Lord of all."

Praying God to help them in the work of turning man (made in his image) into a beast! No wonder John Jay, first Chief Justice of the United States, said, "*Such prayers to heaven are impious!*"

CHEROKEE, CREEK, CHOCTAW, AND CHICKASAW INDIANS

Owned extensive tracts of land in Georgia, Alahama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. These Indian tribes had turned attention to agriculture, and to education, and had produced some eminent men, the writings of some of whom are now before me. They were in a fair way to rival their white neighbours in all the arts of civilised life. But Slaves found that sympathy, justice, and humanity among these Indian tribes which were denied them

among their professedly Christian white masters. They fled to the Indians for protection, and found it. These professedly Christian whites, therefore, demanded the expulsion of the Indians. Under the administration of Jackson, a Slaveholder, the Indians were expelled at the point of the bayonet, driven from the homes and graves of their fathers to bury their sorrows and bodies together beneath the inhospitable prairies of the far West. Their appeals, petitions, and entreaties to Congress for protection are affecting, but they prayed to those whose hearts were of stone, who were pledged to do any and every thing for the protection of Slavery. They were driven off; and their cultivated fields, their houses, and their cattle, were confiscated to Slaveholders. The following are specimens of their feelings, and of the manner of their removal. I extract from a paper published near the scene:—

"When the last effective blow was struck, and they looked for the last time upon the graves of their ancestors, aged men and stern warriors, untaught to shed a tear of grief, placed their hands upon their faces and *wept like children*. In the winter of 1836, 17,000 of the Creek Indians were removed beyond the Mississippi river by contractors who cared more for the gold of the government than for the lives of the Indians. They were driven in an inclement season of the year, poorly fed, poorly clothed, and their naked feet left foot-prints of blood upon the frozen soil; while the aged and infirm were left by the wayside to die in the wilderness."

The following is an earnest appeal of two Cherokee chiefs to Congress:—

"Notwithstanding the cries of our people, the lowest classes of whites, assisted by constables and peace-officers, are flogging the Cherokees with cow-hides, hickories, and clubs. This barbarous treatment is not confined to the men, but our women are stripped and flogged without law or mercy. We talk plainly as chiefs, and appeal to you for protection."

Many thrilling facts touching the spoliation and removal of these noble children of the forest—by the American Union—solely for the protection of Slavery, might be given. The following shows the anguish of their souls at the wrongs done to them. From the *Montgomery* (Alabama) *Advertiser*, July 16th, 1836:—

"Three thousand Indians left our wharves on Thursday last for their destined homes across the Mississippi. From the crowded state of the boats, and the hot season, it is but reasonable to expect that they will suffer much disease. Preparations were making to chain some of the refractory warriors. One deluded wretch refused to be chained, and fled—giving the war-whoop. He was shot dead by a Mobile volunteer. Another was bayoneted, who died in a few hours. The same evening three escaped; one was caught and brought back, and as he was proceeding through the street, he seized a large knife, *cut his throat*, and instantly expired. Such is the desperation of these beings, rather than fall into the hands of the civil authorities of Georgia!!"

SLAVE-TRADE IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

The American Union has entire control over the ten miles square of territory—the district of Columbia—that is the national capital. In that capital, from ten to fifteen thousand Slaves have been sold per annum. A daily market is kept open for the buying and selling of Slaves, for the convenience of the President, members of Congress, and others. Those who carry on this traffic as a profession pay to the Union 400 dollars per annum for a license. Jails built by the Union, are used for the confinement of Slaves, kept to be sold and carried off to the South. Several large establishments are there, which, as one writer says, "are strongly built, and well supplied with *thumb-screws* and *gags*, and ornamented with *cow-skins*, and other whips, oftentimes *bloody*." Ships run regularly between this capital of the Union and New Orleans, to convey Slaves; and the owners advertise, as do the shippers of other goods and live stock. One of these advertisements says—

"Slaves that are intended to be shipped will at any time be received for *safe keeping*, at 25 cents per day.—(Signed) JOHN ARMFIELD."

Free negroes are often seized by the licensed kidnappers of the Union in her capital. Officers in the pay of the United States often seize, and confine, and sell human beings as Slaves, in behalf and for the benefit of the Union. Companies of Slaves are driven through the streets of the capital chained and manacled, to be sold to the Southern markets; and the National Legislature looks on, and estimates their value as it would a drove of cattle. The crack of the Slave-whip, as it sinks into the flesh of woman—the clank of the fetter and the chain—the sound of the hammer—and the cry of the auctioneer, selling men and women, "singly, or in lots to suit purchasers"—the wailings of despairing husbands and wives, and parents and children, sold and separated for ever—all mingle with the eloquence of the Republican Senators and Presidents, as they eulogise the blessings of liberty. The national banner literally waves over a Slave market.

An express enactment on the statute book of the Union licenses that traffic in the national capital for 400 dollars, which, by another enactment, is punished with death as PIRACY, when carried on upon the high seas, or upon the coast of Africa.

RIGHT OF PETITION.

The American Union denies the right of petition to her 3,000,000 of Slaves. J. Q. Adams, Feb. 11th, 1837, presented to the House of Representatives a petition purporting to come from Slaves—whereupon the House passed the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That Slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the people of the United States by the Constitution."

—Adopted, Yeas 162, Nays 18. The Union will do anything to "preserve, propagate, and perpetuate Slavery."

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LETTER VI.

MANORE COTTAGE, ROSENEATH,
July 12th, 1845.

TESTIMONY OF WEBSTER AND ADAMS.

SIR,—The following is the testimony of two of the most prominent political men in America,—Daniel Webster and John Quincy Adams. Webster says, in a speech delivered at New York, two years ago:—

"We have Slavery already among us. The Constitution found it among us; it recognized it, and gave it *solemn guarantees*. To the full extent of these guarantees we are all bound in *honour*, in *justice* (!), and by the Constitution. All the stipulations contained in the Constitution, in favour of the Slaveholding States, which are already in the Union, ought to be fulfilled, and so far as depends on me, shall be fulfilled in the fulness of their spirit, and to the exactness of their letter!"

The nation, fifty-eight years ago, entered into a compact, whose "vital and animating spirit was Slave-breeding, Slave-trading, and Slaveholding;" and Daniel Webster, in America styled the "Defender of the Constitution," says, we are bound, "in honour and justice," to fulfil that compact, and sustain that business! In the church on Sunday, men are *Theists*: in the legislative halls, and on 'Change, they are *Atheists* the rest of the week.

Hear the indignant John Quincy Adams in reference to the American Constitution and Union:—

"Is it in the compass of human imagination to devise a more perfect exemplification of the art of committing the lamb to the wolf?" "It was one of the curses from that Pandora's box (the compact), adjusted at the time, as usual, by a *compromise*, the whole advantage of which tended to the benefit of the South, and to aggravate the burdens of the North." "What order of men, under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of Slaves, in the hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion?" "This investment of power in Slave-owners, concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, *constitutes a privileged order of men* in the community more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, *than any order of nobility ever known*. To call a Government thus constituted a *democracy*, is to insult the understanding of mankind." "There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it." "It was introduced into the Constitution of the

United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons." "All political power in the States, is absorbed and engrossed by the *owners of Slaves*, and the overruling policy of the States is shaped to strengthen and consolidate their dominion. The legislative, judicial, and executive authorities are all in their hands—the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of the black code of Slavery—every law of the legislative becomes a link in the chain of the Slave—every executive act a rivet to his hapless fate—every judicial decision a perversion of the human intellect to the justification of wrong. Its reciprocal operation upon the Government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority, in the Slave representation, over that of the free people in the American Congress, and thereby make the *preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of Slavery the vital and animating spirit of the national Government.*"

Alluding to the Convention that formed the Constitution in 1787, Mr Adams says:—

"The delegation from the Free States, in their extreme anxiety to conciliate the ascendancy of the Southern Slaveholders, *did listen to a compromise between right and wrong, between Freedom and Slavery;* of the ultimate fruits of which they had no conception, but which already, even now, is urging the Union to its INEVITABLE RUIN AND DISSOLUTION, by a civil, servile, foreign, and Indian war, all combined in one; a war, the essential issue of which will be between Freedom and Slavery, and in which the *unhallowed standard of Slavery will be the desecrated banner of the North American Union!!*"

Mr Adams says, in an address to his constituents, November 6th, 1844:—

"The Slaveholding Lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their Slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African Slave-trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive Slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the law of God, delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction fatal to the principle of popular representation, of a representation of Slaves—*for articles of merchandise under the name of persons.*" "The Delegates from the South distinctly avowed that, without this guarantee of protection to their property in Slaves, they would not yield their assent to the Constitution: and the freemen of the North, reduced to the alternative *of departing from the vital principle of their liberty or of forfeiting the Union itself*—averted their faces, and, with trembling hand, subscribed the bond."

Of the prohibition of the African Slave-trade, he says in the same address:—

"The *breeding* States soon reconciled themselves to a prohibition which gave them the monopoly of the interdicted trade, and they joined the full chorus of reprobation to punish with death the Slave-trader from *Africa*, while they cherished, and shielded, and enjoyed the precious profits of the *American* Slave-trade exclusively to themselves." "Every department of the Government of this Union is tainted at its source by the gangrene of Slavery." "The suppression of the African Slave-trade as piracy, upon pain of death, by securing the benefit of a monopoly to the *virtuous* Slaveholders of the ancient dominion (Virginia), has turned her *heroic* tyrannicides into a community of *Slave-breeders* for sale, and converted the land of Washington and Jefferson into a great barracoon—a cattle-show of human beings—an emporium of which the staple article of merchandise are the

flesh and blood, the bones and sinews of immortal man." "It (the Constitution) is saturated with the infection of Slavery, which no umigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. The deadly enom of Slavery w as infused into the Constitntion of freedom."—*Iaveholding, Slave-breeding, and Slave-trading have formed the whole Sundation of the policy of the Federal Government."*

Such is the opinion of John Quincy Adams respecting the Union—a man who, when he penned the foregoing, had, as President of the United States, as an Ambassad or to forcign courts, as a representative in Congress, or Secretary of State, helped to administer the Federal Government for more than sixty years. —Henry Clay said, in 1839 :—

"The power of the general government over the Slave-trade is complete and universally conceded, and *this government is bound to protect it."*

In 1837, he said :—

"The people of the North have no right to *act* npon the subject of Slavery, und, therefore, they have now no right to *deliberate*—no right to *discuss."*

JURY TRIAL DENIED TO RUNAWAY SLAVES.

The Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of each particular State, by express provisions, secures to every man, in all cases affecting *personal* rights, the privilege of *trial by jury*. Runaway Slaves, when seized in the Northern States, had never enjoyed this privilege. The whole nation consented to trample this "due process of law" in the dust to accommodate the Slave-hunters. For several years Abolitionists directed their efforts to obtain for fugitive Slaves the right of trial by jury, in case they were found and apprehended. Within the last ten years, through anti-Slavery influence, the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, and Pennsylvania, by positive legislative enactments, accorded to the hunted fugitives this right. Great was the joy of the Abolitionists at this triumph of anti-Slavery in those States. Now we thought the runaway Slaves would be secure without going to Canada, for it was believed no jury of twelve men could be found to agree in a verdict to thrust the fugitive back to stripes and chains; but in a moment all our hopes were dashed, and these specific acts of the State legislatures were set aside. By whom? By the supreme court of the United States. A runaway Slave was seized in Pennsylvania by a Maryland Slaveholder, and the case finally came to be one between the two States: Maryland contending that the law of Pennsylvania, that extended jury trial to fugitive Slaves, was a violation of the Federal Constitution. The trial occurred in 1842. The decision of the Supreme Court, as given by Chief Justice Story, says, respecting the provision in the Constitution touching fugitive Slaves :—

"We know that it was *designed* to secure the rights of ownership to Slaves, as property in those States where Slavery did not exist. It con-

templates the unqualified right of ownership in Slaves, which no *State* laws can be permitted to regulate, qualify, control, or restrain!! Under the Constitution, the owner is invested with the right to recapture his Slave wherever he finds him, throughout the Union. The clause was *designed* to protect the Slave-owner against the legislation of the States. The law of Pennsylvania is void."

Thus, to secure Slaveholders in the right to convert human beings into brutes, the supreme judicial tribunal of the Union decided that the States have no right to extend jury trial to men who are claimed as Slaves. Where property to the amount of five pounds is at stake, a white man can have a trial by jury; but where the *personal ownership* of his own body and soul is at stake, the black man can have no jury trial in America. Any "*Justice Shallow*" may consign him to perpetual Slavery! Of course, the enactments of the above-named States, giving jury trial to fugitive Slaves, are now null and void.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LETTER VII.

MAMORE COTTAGE, ROSENEATH,
August 15th, 1845.

TEXAS.

SIR,—The deed of national infamy is done. Texas is added to the Union. It has often been asked in this kingdom—Why have Slaveholders shown such desperate anxiety and perseverance in regard to the annexation of Texas? The following facts will explain.

Congress consists of a Senate and House of Representatives. The latter House is chosen directly by the people in their primary assemblies. The Senate is chosen by the Legislatures of the different States, and is composed of two members from each State. This is the balance-wheel of the Government, as is the House of Lords in Britain. The state of Missouri was added to the Union as a Slave State in 1820, at which time, by a compromise between the north and south, the territorial boundary of Slavery was defined, and only Tennessee and Florida left at its disposal. This territory at most could make but three or four States, while a territory remained to the Union, from which Slavery was excluded, sufficient to form 15 Free States. There were originally 13 States, there are now 28. Soon after the formation of the present Government there were 14 States—seven Slave and seven non-Slave States; and, of course, in the Senate, Slavery and liberty were equally balanced—14 members representing the interest of each. From that moment it has ever been the policy to

bring in two States at a time—one Slaveholding, one non-Slaveholding—to maintain the balance of power in the Senate. From the admission of Missouri, it was confidently anticipated by some that Slavery would in a short time use up its territory, be confined to fixed limits, and loose its equilibrium in the Senate. Tennessee and Arkansas were added as Slave States to counterbalance Illinois and Michigan as free States. Florida alone was left to Slavery. This was to come in soon to match *Iowa*. Then the power of Slavery must sink in the Senate while the interests of freedom would rise by the addition of new free States, till, on every question touching the Slave interests, it would be able, as it was thought, to carry the Government in favour of justice and the rights of man. From the time of the Missouri compromise the Slaveholders began to cast about to prepare for the crisis which they saw must come. *Texas* was their only hope. They must get that, or their *institution*, as they called their deed of unutterable villany, must ere long be given up. Mexico, to whom Texas belonged, was then a Slaveholding country. *S. F. Austin* and *S. Houston* led on a company of Slaveholding emigrants with Slaves to Texas, and formed settlements by permission of the Mexican Government. Others of the same stamp followed, and the settlements went on prosperously—all the affinities and interests of the first settlers being with the Slaveholders of the southern States. In 1829, Mexico achieved her independence, and at once proclaimed liberty to every Slave in the empire. This dashed the hopes of the South; but the Texan adventurers, encouraged by offers of assistance from the South, resisted the decree, and refused freedom to their Slaves. The Slaveholding politicians began to lay open their designs on Texas before the nation.

Upshur, in 1830, said in a Convention in Virginia:—"If Texas could be obtained, which he strongly desired, it would *raise the price of Slaves*, and be a great advantage to Slaveholders in Virginia."

Mr Gholston said in the Virginia Legislature in 1832, that "The acquisition of Texas would raise the price of Slaves fifty per cent." *Breeding Slaves* is the chief business of Virginia: and Texas would open a new market. One of Virginia's leading politicians published a series of essays to show the necessity of acquiring Texas, and says—"It is large enough to make seven Slave States, to counterbalance the growing interests of the States at the North." In 1829 the Union offered Mexico 4,000,000 of dollars for Texas. The offer was rejected. In 1835 Mexico determined to enforce her decree for the abolition of Slavery. Texas, encouraged by troops, money, and arms from the United States, at that time at peace with Mexico, resisted, and determined to retain her Slaves—declared her independence, and formed her Constitution, from which the following is an extract:—

Article 9th.—"Congress shall have no power to emancipate Slaves; nor shall any Slaveholder be allowed to emancipate his or her Slaves without the consent of Congress, unless he or she shall send his or her Slaves without the limits of the Republic. No free person of African descent, in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside in the Republic without the consent of Congress; and the importation of Africans, *excepting from the United States*, is for ever prohibited and declared to be piracy."

In this is seen the sole object of the first settlement of Slaveholders in Texas, and of their rebellion against Mexico. *A monopoly of* PIRACY *is accorded to the American Union as a reward for her sympathy and support.* The Union hastened, in March 3d, 1836, to acknowledge the independence of Texas. In 1838 every nerve was strained by the Texans and by the southern States to annex Texas to the Union. The scheme was then defeated by the Abolitionists. But the Slaveholders went on to mature their plans in secret. They have succeeded. The Union has plundered Mexico, with whom she was under a treaty of peace, of her territory, and re-established Slavery over 300,000 square miles in which it had been abolished.

Since the annexation, the dissolution of the Union has become a subject of extensive agitation in the North. Many have taken the ground, that this event is necessary to the abolition of Slavery, and to the preservation of the semblance of liberty in the non-Slave States. Among others, Judge Jay has spoken firmly and clearly. He says,—

"The consequences of annexation will be—the indefinite extension of the southern boundary of the United States, and the indefinite seizure and plunder of the Spanish provinces—the extension of Slavery over California and Yucatan. DISSOLUTION MUST TAKE PLACE, and the sooner the better. It is the duty of the North to petition Congress and the State Legislatures to take measures for an amicable dissolution of the Union. Congress has given the Union a death-blow. It may languish awhile, but its fate is sealed."

Mr Walker, a member of the Cabinet, said, "He contemplated, as a consequence of annexation, the spread of Slavery through Texas into Mexico, and Central and South America!" Henry Wise boasted in Congress that "annexation would extend Slavery to the Pacific, and lead to the plunder of the temples of Mexico." Mr Mirrick said in the Senate—

"It was his firm belief, that the annexation of Texas, as a market for Slaves, would enable the South to preserve her balance in the Union—that the Union would be more perfect—*justice* be better established—*domestic tranquillity* better insured—the common defence better provided for—the *general welfare* better promoted—and the *blessings* of *liberty* to ourselves and our posterity better secured."

Liberty secured by Slavery!—justice by oppression!

The following is the manner in which many Northern political papers have spoken on the subject:—

"Whenever Texas shall be added, the *Union will be dissolved*, and the Constitution subverted."—*Massachussets Spy.*

"The North should see in the annexation of Texas the annexation of Mexico. If the South gets Texas, she will have Mexico and Coahuila. Many of the advocates of annexation declare their intention to push their acquisitions to the limits of the Northern half of the Western Continent. The immediate formation of an Anti-Union party will be the result of annexation. It is declared, in full confidence, that annexation *dissolves the Union* at no distant day."—*New York Mirror.*

"We hold, that if the general Government should annex Texas, the States are under no obligations to sostain it, and that the *Union is virtually and for ever dissolved.*"—*Worcester Palladium.*

"The annexation of Texas is the first grand march of the Republic of the United States to conquest. There is no stopping in the career of conquest when a Republic begins. We shall go on to the city of Mexico. We shall make a dash at Montreal and Quebec—St. John's and Halifax hereafter. War, sooner or later, is our destiny now."—*New York Express.*

"*Shall we secede from the Union?* Could the Free States be brought to that point, we should say, Yes—let the South stagger alone with the load of her sin and shame."—*Lowell Courier.*

DISSOLUTION PLEDGE.

The following pledge is now being widely circulated and extensively signed by the Abolitionists in America:—

"We, the undersigned, to signify our abhorrence of injustice and oppression, and to clear our skirts from innocent blood, do hereby pledge ourselves, in all suitable ways, to strive for the peaceable dissolution of the Union, as the most consistent, feasible, and efficient means of abolishing Slavery."

Another pledge is also being extensively circulated and signed called the

ANTI-SLAVERY PEACE PLEDGE.

"We, the undersigned, hereby solemnly pledge ourselves not to countenance or aid the United States Government in any war which may be occasioned by the annexation of Texas, or in any other war, *foreign* or *domestic*, designed to strengthen or perpetuate Slavery."

Should that Republic go to war to support Slavery, be it with Mexico, France, Spain, or England, she will find tens of thousands in her midst who will do all in their power to cripple her means and defeat her aim. Many would oppose because they are non-resistants, and many because they will never draw the sword in support of Slavery. The Abolitionists of America, if they fight at all, will be found in the ranks of her enemies, whoever they may be, provided those enemies proclaim liberty to the Slaves.

At a meeting in one of the States, at which the ex-Governor of the State presided, a report was adopted, "to urge on Congress to pass an act to authorise the President to purchase the Island of Cuba, with the consent of the white people thereof." This measure will be carried at no distant day. By purchase or by conquest, Cuba will be annexed to the Union, to prevent the abolition of Slavery there, or to re-establish it if abolished. Then for the British West India Islands, to re-enslave the emancipated

there. Then for Canada, to reclaim the fugitives that are there, and to break up that "asylum of the oppressed" for the future. War—war with Spain, France, and England, is inevitable now, and on the part of the American Republic, to "preserve, propagate, and perpetuate Slavery." But one thing can avert this fearful tragedy—

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LETTER VIII.

MANORE COTTAGE, ROSENEATH,
August 16th, 1845.

CUBA.

SIR,—That "Slaveholding, Slave-breeding, and Slave-trading have formed the whole foundation of the Federal Government," appears in its treatment of the Islands of Cuba and Hayti. In 1825, the South American Republics, then at war with Spain for independence, held a Convention at Panama. The United States was invited to attend. Mexico and Columbia proposed to unite and invade Cuba, with a view to the abolition of Slavery in that island. The Union remonstrated against it, and her motive for so doing was boldly avowed; *i. e.*, to prevent the abolition of Slavery there, lest that example should endanger the States. Henry Clay was then Secretary of State. In a letter of instruction to Messrs. Anderson and Sargeant, dated May 8th, 1826, the representatives of the United States at the Panama Convention, he says:—

"It is the duty of the United States to defend themselves against the *contagion* of such a near and dangerous example, even at the hazard of losing the friendship of Mexico and Columbia."

The simple meaning is, that it is the duty of the Union to wage war, if need be, against her sister Republics, to support southern Slavery rather than that it should be hazarded by giving freedom to the Slaves of Cuba.

The United States Minister at St. Petersburgh was instructed to "engage the Russian Government to exert her influence with Spain to terminate her war with Mexico and Columbia," for fear its continuance would, by freeing the Slaves in Cuba, endanger Slavery in the States. In October, 1829, Van Buren, then Secretary of State, instructed Mr Van Ness, Minister to Spain, to urge that court to cease the war with the South American Republics. The reason is boldly avowed:—

"Considerations," he says, "connected with a certain class of our population make it the interest of the southern section of the Union that no attempt should be made in Cuba to throw off the yoke of Spanish dependence; the first effect of which would be *the sudden emancipation of a numerous Slave population whose results could not but be very sensibly felt upon the adjacent shores of the United States.*"

One may well ask, can it be possible that a nation, whose watchword is, "ALL MEN ARE CREATED FREE," should manœuvre and intercede with Russian and Spanish despotisms to aid her in preventing emancipation? But hear the debates in Congress when the Panama mission was discussed there. Mr Randolph of Virginia said—

"Cuba possesses an immense Negro population. In case Mexico and Colombia should invade Cuba at all, it is unquestionable that this invasion will be made with this principle—*this genius of universal emancipation*—this sweeping anathema against the white population in front, and then, Sir—*What is the situation of the Southern States.*"

Mr Johnson of Louisiana said—

"We know that Columbia and Mexico have long contemplated the independence of Cuba. What then, at such a crisis, becomes the duty of this Government? Send your ministers instantly to this assembly where the measure is maturing. *Advise* with them, *remonstrate*—MENACE, if necessary, against a step so dangerous to us."

Mr Berrien of Georgia, said—

"If our interests and our safety shall require us to say to these new Republics, Cuba and Porto Rico *must* remain as they are (Slaveholding)—we are free to say it, and, by the blessing of God and the *strength of our arms*, to enforce the declaration: and let me say to you, gentlemen, these high considerations do require it. The *vital* interest of the South demands it."

In plain words, the support of Slavery in the States required the continuance of Slavery in Cuba, and God would bless the Union in a war against Mexico and Columbia, to prevent them from letting the oppressed go free in that Island. Mr Floyd of Virginia, said,—

"The interest, if not the safety, of our own country, would require us to interpose to prevent such an event (the abolition of Slavery in Cuba;) and I would rather take up arms to prevent than to accelerate such an occurrence."—*Congressional Debates.*

Mexico and Columbia gave up the plan of giving liberty to the Slaves of Cuba, through the remonstrances and threats of the United States. Thus, but for the American Union, the Slaves in that Island had long ago been free.

HAYTI.

Hayti, in 1790, had a population of 686,000. July 1st, 1798, she declared her independence and organised a Government. In 1802, France, under Napoleon, undertook to re-enslave the population. In eleven months the Haytiens destroyed 40,000 of

those who made the attempt; and in Nov. 19th, 1802, all the invaders surrendered to Dessalines, the chief. From that time Hayti has continued free and independent, and has greatly increased in population and commerce.

How has the Federal Government treated that heroic Republic of self-emancipated men? On the 28th of February, 1806, she passed an act, "*to suspend all commercial intercourse between the United States and those parts of the Island of St. Domingo*, THAT WERE FREE." Why this act of non-intercourse? Napoleon, goaded by the loss of his armies in Hayti, appealed to the American Union, and found in it a willing tool to execute his vengeance upon the Haytiens for daring to be free. To this day the United States has refused to recognise the independence of that Island, or to establish any commercial treaty with her—to send to her or to receive from her any consul or minister. Why? Let the debates in Congress on the Panama mission answer. Mr Berrien of Georgia—

"Consistently with our own safety, can the people of the South *permit* the intercourse which would result from the establishing relations of any sort with Hayti? Is the emancipated Slave to be admitted into our ports to spread the doctrines of insurrection, and to strengthen and invigorate them by exhibiting, in his own person, an example of successful revolt? This cannot be."

He goes on to say, the South would rather dissolve the Union than acknowledge the freedom and independence of Hayti. Mr Benton of Missouri—

"The peace of eleven States in this Union will not permit the fruits of a successful Negro insurrection to be exhibited among them —it will not permit the fact to be seen, and told that they are to find friends among the white people of the United States."

Mr Hamilton of South Carolina—

"It is proper that I should avow what I believe to be the sentiments of the South on this question, and this is, that *Haytien independence is not to be tolerated in any form.*"

Mr Hayne of South Carolina—

"We ought not to touch the independence of Hayti. That Government has proclaimed principles of liberty and equality, and has marched to victory under the banner of universal emancipation. You find men of *colour* at the head of their armies, in the legislative halls, and in the executive departments. Our policy with regard to Hayti is plain; we *never* can acknowledge her independence. Let our Government direct all our ministers in South America and Mexico to *protest* against the independence of Hayti."

Mr Johnson of Louisiana—

"I deem it of the highest concern to the political connexion of these countries, to *remonstrate* against the recognition of Haytien independence, and to make our remonstrance *effectual*."

December 17th, 1838, a petition was presented to Congress, praying for the establishment of usual international relations with

Hayti. The following extracts from speeches made in the debate on that occasion speak for themselves. Mr Legare of South Carolina—

"As sure as you live, Sir, if this course is permitted to go on, the sun of this Union will go down—it will go down in blood—and go down to rise no more. I will vote against nefarious schemes like these. They are treason. Yes, Sir, I pronounce the authors of such petitions TRAITORS, traitors not only to their country, but to the whole human race."!!

Mr Wise of Virginia—

"Never will I, never will my constituents, be forced into this. This is the only body of men who have emancipated themselves. They have long been free, I admit; yet if they had been free for centuries, I would not acknowledge their independence."

Such is the spirit of the Union towards self-emancipated Hayti. Though her trade with that island in 1833 was greater than with Prussia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Ireland, Scotland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, or Turkey, the Union has scornfully refused to acknowledge her independence, simply *because they are self-emancipated*—because Slavery was abolished there; while the Government hastened to acknowledge the independence of Slaveholding Texas, before she had fairly made herself free from Mexico. The trade of the United States with Hayti is embarrassed and subjected to severe discriminating duties, solely because her Slave-breeding and Slaveholding spirit is too deep and malignant to allow her to exchange with her the ordinary courtesies between independent nations. Who can doubt that "a knot of Slaveholders give the law, and prescribe the policy of that country?" The Government, from its foundation, in all its functions, has been made subservient—not to "justice," "tranquillity," "union," and "liberty," but to the conversion of human beings into "*chattels personal*," and to retaining them in the condition of "four-footed beasts and creeping things."

CONCLUSION.

Thus have I endeavoured to establish the proposition with which I started—*That the American Union, in its present form, is constitutionally pledged to the support of Slavery.* But, it may be asked, is this the natural and necessary result of the compact? YES—and while it exists, *in its present form*, it cannot be otherwise. The representation of human beings, as property, under the soft phrase—"*three-fifths of all other persons*," is a vital, essential element of the present Constitution. To change that, without the consent of the Slaveholders, would be a direct violation of the compact on the part of the non-Slave States; to do it with their consent, would destroy the present form of the Union, and blot out one of its vital elements—*i. e.*, the representation of property under the name of "*persons*."

But it is asked, Would not the Constitution and the Union be saved, if the Slave States would abolish Slavery and convert their human "*chattels*" into human beings. YES. But how can they be persuaded to do this, while *Slave-breeding is at a premium?* The Constitution, in the clause, "*three-fifths of all other persons*," offers the highest possible inducement to them to persevere in the practice of turning MAN—into a beast; for it offers them political power and influence in proportion to the number of human beings whom they can breed and raise for the market. It says to a man, "reduce five men to *chattels personal*," and you shall equal in political importance four men who hold no Slaves; and if, by any means, you can blot 1000 from the sum of human existence, and herd them with brutes, you shall equal in political power and dignity 601 men who practically assert the "inalienable right of all men to liberty, and the claim of every man to their love and sympathy as a brother." Offer the highest possible earthly reward for *Man-stealing*, and pledge the whole nation to protect and honour it, and then entreat men not to become *Man-stealers!!* Make Slaveholding the highest possible stimulant to, and reward of, ambition, and then urge men not to become Slaveholders!! As well ensure Heaven to men as the reward of horse-stealing, and then entreat them not to steal horses.

I repeat it—*Slave-breeding, Slave-trading*, and *Slaveholding* in the Union, are at the highest earthly premium; except it had said *five-fifths* instead of "three-fifths of all other persons;" and they are made so by the express provisions of the Constitution. *Man-stealing* is the constitutional test by which a man's qualifications for the exercise of political power are known. The Union considers a man qualified to make laws and execute justice in proportion as, in his own person, he tramples on all law, and violates all justice—it considers him competent to watch over the moral purity of the nation, according to the number of men and women he herds together in a state of concubinage—fitted to conduct the nation to glory and honour, in proportion to the number of human beings whom he breeds for the market; and qualified to protect the trade, extend the commerce, and exalt the reputation of the Republic according to his activity and success in trafficking "in Slaves and the souls of men." It clothes a man with the attributes of a freeman, in proportion to his ability to enslave others; and counts him a *Man*, according to the number of men whom he has dehumanised.

Did earth ever witness such a spectacle! A nation, declaring to the world that "All men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty," and then, by the Constitution of her national existence, offering the highest premium in her power for Slave-breeding and Slave-trading! Professing to be an asylum to the oppressed of all lands, and then qualifying men for the exercise of political power, according to the number of their Slaves;

thus making *Slaveholding* the foundation of its national Government! A nation, boasting of its intelligence, its civilisation, its religion—of its schools, colleges, churches, ministers, bibles, and democracy; and rewarding and honouring its citizens according to the amount of their property in the "persons" of men, and to the number of immortal beings whom they have shut out from all knowledge and all hope, and been enabled to herd with the beasts of the field!! The only cure for such a Constitution is its destruction—the only remedy for the evils of such a Union is its dissolution. I repeat, in the language of Judge Jay—

"THE UNION MUST BE DISSOLVED; AND SOONER THE BETTER. A separation will more easily be effected *now*, than when the relative strength of the South shall have been greatly augmented. Hereafter we (the North) shall be as serfs rebelling against their lords. *Now*, if the North please, we may dissolve the Union without spilling a drop of blood. Who will hazard the assertion that this may be done forty years hence? How a dissolution is to be effected—how a new confederacy is to be formed—what States shall compose it, are questions which time alone can solve. *Let us avoid, as wholly unnecessary and inexcusable, any resort to physical force.*"—*Letter from Judge Jay to H. J. Bowditch, dated New York, March 19th*, 1845.

Let the people of Great Britain unite with the Abolitionists of America, to array the moral and religious sentiment of the world against the American Union, and, by peaceful and bloodless means, seek its dissolution as the great enemy of human freedom.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

FORM OF A MEMORIAL

FROM THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NON-SLAVE STATES OF AMERICA,

Touching their duty to withdraw from their Political Compact with Slaveholders.

THE undersigned greet you as children of a common Father, and members of a common family. We come to you not as Britons, but as human beings,—whose obligations to "feel for those in bonds as bound with them," and to "break every yoke and let the oppressed go free," are not limited by geographical lines and national boundaries—nor by colour, creed, or condition; but are antecedent to and independent of all human arrangements. We believe that man is above his incidents and is never to be sacrificed to them; that INSTITUTIONS ARE FOR MEN, NOT MEN FOR INSTITUTIONS; that rights and obligations which belong to man, as MAN, can never be superseded by those which belong to him as a *citizen*; and that when our duties as members of a particular state or nation conflict with our duties as members of the human family, they are null and void. Standing on this broad platform of humanity, we address you.

While we disclaim the right and intention to excite you to armed resistance to the government under which you live, but would entreat you and all men, to long-suffering submission to "the powers that be," yet, it is our right and duty to rebuke injustice and oppression wherever they exist; by whomsoever they are committed, and by whatever combinations and laws they are supported. While we rebuke wrongs committed against our common nature in America, we invite all others to a like fidelity towards us.

In the language of your Declaration of National Independence—"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right and the duty of the people to alter or abolish it."

Three millions of our fellow beings are held and used as chattels in the United States of America. From express provisions of your Federal Constitution; from the uniform action of your general Government in its legislative, judicial, and executive

functions; from the action of your state governments; from the unanimous voice of the people as it has been expressed in their national policy at home and abroad; and from the fact, that within the past 50 years, Slavery. under the fostering care of your political Union, has enlarged its boundary from 210,000 to one million of square miles; we are convinced, that, in the language of John Quincy Adams, "the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of Slavery constitute the vital and animating spirit of your National Government. "Thus the Union is destructive of the ends" for which "governments are instituted among men;" and "it is your right and your duty to withdraw from it. To incite you to the exercise of this right, and to the performance of this duty, is the object of this Memorial.

By express provisions of your National Compact, you are pledged to continue men in Slavery, and to prevent efforts of their own to free themselves without the consent of their oppressors; while you are pledged to countenance and support your partners in the Union in Slave-breeding, Slave-trading and Slaveholding. By the immutable laws of our nature, which bind man to man in a common brotherhood, and all men to their Creator as to a common Father, the Union was null and void from its foundation; and your obligations to keep it, cancelled by prior and superior claims.

While you continue in this Slaveholding alliance, and under the banner of freedom and equal rights, "trade in Slaves and the souls of men," you encourage the hearts and strengthen the hands of tyrants, and make the name of liberty a by-word throughout the earth. Instead of establishing justice"—"securing the blessings of liberty to yourselves and to all men"—"and promoting their welfare," you prolong the reign of injustice, multiply and perpetuate the wrongs and woes of Slavery, endanger the peace and prosperity of nations, and frustrate the hopes and cripple the efforts of the friends of freedom in this and in all lands.

In the name of God and Humanity, and as you would have Slavery cease and liberty triumph, annul your religious and political compact with American Slavery. In the language of your own distinguished countryman, JUDGE JAY, say to the nation, —"*the Union must be dissolved—and sooner the better.*"

Receive this our memorial with that love and devotion to liberty, and that abhorrence of Slavery with which it is presented to you.

And that you may succeed in every righteous effort "to establish justice" and "secure the blessings of liberty to yourselves," and to all mankind, your Memorialists will ever pray.*

* This Memorial was adopted by the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, Oct. 21st, 1845, to be presented at a public meeting to be held in the City Hall.

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

MAMORE COTTAGE, ROSENEATH,
17*th October*, 1845.

To the Rev. Drs. CHALMERS, CUNNINGHAM, and CANDLISH.*

SIRS,—Every American Slaveholder is of necessity a Man-stealer, and their only way to get quit of their guilt and infamy s to cease to be Slaveholders. They claim and hold that as their property which never was, and never can be, theirs,—*i. e.*, the bodies and souls of men.

The following exposition of your speeches and writings, as contained in the *Witness* of March 15th and 19th, and of May 14th, 1845, is made by substituting *Man-stealing* for Slavery and Slaveholding, *Man-stealers* for Slaveholders, and *stolen men* for Slaves. With this exception, the words and sentences of the following extracts are all your own:—

DR. CHALMERS.—"*Man-stealing*, like war, is a great evil—yet it follows not that there may not be Christian *Man-stealers*." "There are various methods on which philanthropists might join their forces for the abolition of *Man-stealing*. The most unwise, and least efficacious were, to pass a general sentence of excommunication on *Man-stealers*." "A purely and rightly administered church will exclude from the ordinances—not any man as a *Man-stealer*—but every man, whether *Man-stealer* or not, as licentious, or intemperate, or dissolute." "I must repeat my conviction, that *Man-stealing* will not be at all shaken, if assailed through the medium of that most questionable and unhiguous principle which the Abolitionists are now labouring to force upon our acceptance, even that *Man-stealing* is, in itself, a ground of exclusion from christian sacraments." "There is one reformation about which we feel no difficulty, and that is, how to proceed against *Man-stealing* ministers and members, who *steal men*, not as masters of a household, who must *steal men* for domestic servants, but as *Man-stealers*, who continue this worldly calling with their sacred or professional occupation. In our own churches, we should lay an interdict on our ministers here against their holding any secular trade or employment, lest it should secularize them; and, *a fortiori*, we should lay an interdict on ministers there from *stealing men* for profit, lest it should brutalize them. We must be forgiven the harshness of this expression. We do not say that this is the invariable effect of *Man-stealing* in America; and therefore it is that we resist the proposed excommunication of all *Man-stealers*." "Should we concede to their demand, then we incur the discredit of having given in—at the bidding of another party—to a fictitious and new principle which contravenes the authority of scripture and of apostolic example"—('He that steuleth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death;' Ex. xxi. 16. 'The law was made for Man-stealers,' 1 Tim. i. 10)—"even the principle that no *Man-stealer* should be admitted to a participation in christian sacraments." "It does not seem to us as the right way of

* Originally Published in the *Arbroath Guide*.

going to work, that they should labour, as they have done, to affix a universal stigma on American *Man-stealers.*"

Dr. CANDLISH.—"I desire it to be thoroughly understood, that we must oppose the principle that *Man-stealing* is, in every case, to be visited with a summary coarse of discipline." "That is the extent to which I am prepared to go—refusing to admit the view that the American Churches ought instantly to act on the principle of bringing the exercise of their discipline to bear on the mere fact of *Man-stealing*, and proceeding to excommunicate *Man-stealers*, and that failing to do so, our church ought to have no fellowship with them. That is what I repudiate." "Let as be in a position in which they cannot say to us, You are taking up an extreme principle, not sanctioned by the Word of God, that *Man-stealing* is, in itself, a ground of exclusion from the Lord's table."

Dr. CUNNINGHAM.—"*Man-stealers* were members and ministers of the Church of Christ in the Apostles' times." "It is said that *Man-stealing* is a sin; therefore, every *Man-stealer* is a great sinner, and ought to be treated, as the Abolitionists do, as thieves and robbers, and at once expelled. Even if one were to concede that *Man-stealing* is a sin, it would not follow that every *Man-stealer* ought to be excluded from the Christian Church. If *Man-stealing* is a sin in such a sense as that every *Man-stealer* is a sinner, and ought to be expelled, you are lauded in this principle that, under the authority of the Apostles, the churches connived at *Man-stealing*, because of the difficulties of their situation." "*Man-stealing* is sinful as a system, but not necessarily in those who *steal men.*" "A man may be a *Man-stealer* innocently." "The law makes *stolen men* 'chattels personal.' The necessary consequence is, that a man becomes, whether he will or no, a *Man-stealer*. The *stolen men* are his, and he cannot get rid of them. We may imagine in this country that a man need not become a *Man-stealer* unless he pleases; but this is gross ignorance." "In the Southern States *Man-stealing* is a matter of necessity, because there is no other way of getting domestic servants." "The principle taken up by the Abolitionists is, that *Man-stealing*, no matter although the *stolen man* may have come into his possession against his will, is thieving and robbery, and ought to be treated and spoken of as such. It is impossible to talk of such men as the abolitionists with any thing like respect, or to have any regard for their judgment, sense, or sanity. The main charge is that the church does not exclude *Man-stealers* from office and ordinances; and how is it to be disposed of? Can any man prove that it is an imperative scriptural duty laid on the Church of Christ to exclude every *Man-stealer* from ordinances. The sum and substance of what the (Free) Church contends for is, that it is not." "The sum of what is commonly asserted by the churches is, a denial of the Abolition principle that *Man-stealing* is sinful in such a sense that *Man-stealing*, in all circumstances, is an adequate ground for expulsion from the Lord's table; and they have, beyond all question, the example of the Apostles and Apostolic Churches to justify them." "Surely it is not reasonable that we should be called upon to take so strong a step as this, to tell them that their immediate duty is at once to expel every *Man-stealer* from the Lord's table." "Abolitionists misrepresent all the principles of the churches. They not only make every *Man-stealer* responsible for the evils of *Man-stealing*, but lay all the guilt on every church which does not exclude *Man-stealers* from its communion." "The Apostles did not agitate against *Man-stealing*, and it may be a question how far a Church of Christ is bound to do so on such points."

Such, Rev. Sirs, will be the meaning which men will attach to your writings and speeches fifty years hence, for then *Slaveholding* and *Slaveholder* will be synonymous with *Man-stealing* and *Man-stealer*.

Deliverance of the Free Church Assembly in June, 1845:—

"Without being prepared to adopt the principle that, in the circumstances in which they are placed, the Churches of America ought to consider *Man-stealing* as, *per se*, an insuperable barrier in the way of enjoying christian privileges, or an offence to be visited with excommunication—all must agree in holding, that whatever rights the civil law of the land may give a master over his Slaves, as '*chattels personal*,' it cannot but be a sin of the deepest dye in him to regard or treat them as such." "It must be the opinion of all that it is the duty of Christians (?), when they find themselves, UNHAPPILY, in the predicament of *Man-stealers*, to aim, as far as may be practicable, at the manumission of their *stolen men*." "The only thing which causes hesitation is, the assertion of its being absolutely incumbent on churches thus situated to exclude *Man-stealers* from their communion. The Committee believe that the Church is, by no means, prepared to assert this to be the duty of the American Churches."

Do American Slaveholders claim, hold, and use that as their property, which never did, and never can be theirs,—*i. e.*, the *persons* of men? "The master may sell him, dispose of his *person*, his industry, and his labour." "Slaves shall be deemed, held, taken, reputed and judged in law to be '*chattels personal*.'" "Slaves are liable, as '*chattels*,' to be sold by the master at his pleasure, and may be taken in execution in payment of debts." "The end of the Slave is the profit of his master." (*Slave Code.*) This is the law under which every Slave in America is held. Are those who thus hold the bodies and souls of men, subject to all the liabilities of the chattel-principle, Man-stealers? In 1794 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America adopted the following as a part of their discipline:—"That all who keep, sell, or buy Slaves, or are concerned in bringing any of the human race into Slavery, or in retaining them in it, are *Man-stealers*, guilty of the HIGHEST KIND OF THEFT, and SINNERS OF THE FIRST RANK." Grotius said in 1650, "Those are *Man-stealers* who abduct, keep, sell, or buy Slaves." Thomas Day, Esq., said in 1776, "He that holds another man as property is more detestable than the *robber* and the *assassin* combined." John Wesley said, in 1777, "Men-buyers are exactly on a level with *Men-stealers*. Slaveholders are principally guilty of all these frauds and robberies." Mr Rice said, 1780, "The owners of Slaves are *licensed robbers*, and not the just proprietors of what they claim." Jonathan Edwards said, in 1791, "To hold a man in Slavery is to be every day guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of *Man-stealing*." Adam Clark said, "who are *Man-stealers*? Those who traffic in human flesh and blood, and those who legalize or connive at such traffic; all these are *Man-stealers*."

The Theological Seminary of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia recently seized and sold eight human beings to get money to educate Presbyterian ministers in America. Said Mr Stewart in 1835, in the Presbyterian General Assembly in America, "In this Church a man may take a free-born child and sell it as a beast, and be esteemed an excellent Christian. Elders, ministers, and doctors of divinity, are, with both hands, engaged in this traffic." In 1835, Rev. James Smylie, Presbyterian minister in Mississippi, said, "If buying, selling, or holding Slaves, FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN, be a sin and scandal, then, verily, three-fourths of all the Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians, in eleven States of this union, are of the devil. They do hold Slaves."

Sirs, you are acknowledged leaders of the Free Church of Scotland. You have succeeded in bending the General Assembly of that Church to the opinion that SLAVEHOLDERS are "entitled to be regarded as respectable, useful, honoured, evangelical members and ministers of Christ," and that it would be unjust, fanatical, unchristian, to exclude them from church-fellowship. You have brought the Free Church to vote to receive Slaveholders to their pulpits and communion as christians and christian ministers. Will you answer the question, Are "all who keep, sell, or buy Slaves, MAN-STEALERS?" If not, Who are? Was that a christian decision of the General Assembly in America which declared, "all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into Slavery, or in RETAINING them in it, to be guilty of the highest kind of theft?" Have not the people of the Free Church—has not the whole world, before which you have volunteered to stand, vouchers for the christianity of American Slaveholders—a right to expect a definite answer from you to this question? You *must* answer it ere long. God has denounced them as "*Man-stealers*," and classed them with murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers—with man-slayers—liars and perjured persons. "They BREED human beings, like other live-stock, for the market" (R. S. Finly, Esq. of York, in 1833), and herd man, made in the image of God, with beasts and creeping things. Are they *Man-stealers?* If so, then have you, and the Free Church, over which you preside, voted to receive MAN-STEALERS to your pulpits and communion. Then I have given above a correct explanation of your writings and speeches, as they must be read in the light of facts. Then have you attempted to wrap the spotless robe of Christ's righteousness around men guilty of the "highest kind of theft," and become apologists for "licensed robbers." You would persuade the world that men may "have the mind of Christ"—be guided by his spirit—and "dwell in love and in God,"—and be "MAN-STEALERS." You do, indeed, speak in unqualified terms of condemnation of Slavery "as a system," an "institution," and of the "Slave laws." But what avails it, so long as you hug the creators and supporters of this system, and

the framers and administrators of those laws to your bosoms as "respectable, honoured, useful evangelical ministers?" You condemn Man-stealing as an "institution," and receive Man-stealers to your open arms as "followers after God," and as "serving Him in the gospel of His Son." And for what? That MONEY —that fatal BLOOD-money. How truly hath God said, "a gift blindeth the eyes!" "*Money is the root*" of this evil.

In the language of your associate, the Rev. DOCTOR DUNCAN, I would ask—

"Is every Free Church to have a SLAVE-STONE in it? Is this the commencement of the Free Church of Scotland? What is the association between the Free Church and a stone wet with the blood of the Slave? Is one of our first acts to be a *soft* denunciation of Slavery, and a practical participation in its fruits?" "Has this church nothing to do but to sit down at the Lord's table with these *unmakers* of men —with such traders in human flesh? As for myself, I could not eat a common meal with them; IT WOULD CHOKE ME." "I would count it foul scorn to associate with such men."

How pertinently does another of your associates, the Rev. HENRY GREY, Moderator of the General Assembly for 1844, ask the Free Church—

"HAVE WE SEPARATED OURSELVES FROM OUR MODERATE BRETHREN TO FORM ALLIANCE WITH MAN-STEALERS? Do we remove from us a brother that walketh disorderly,—a drunkard, a fornicator,—an adulterer,—to unite ourselves with fornicators,—such even as are hardly named among the Gentiles,—men polluted with incests, renouncers of marriage rights, man-stealers, murderers, sellers of their own offspring, stained with the blood of innocents, leprous with sin?"

That God may give you "repentance unto life," for the grievous wrongs which you are heaping upon the down-trodden Slaves of America, is the earnest prayer of your friend,

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

SEND BACK THAT MONEY.

TO THE MEMBERS AND MINISTERS OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

"What is the association between the Free Church, and a stone wet with the blood of the Slave?"—Rev. Dr. DUNCAN of the Free Church.

MAMORE COTTAGE, ROSENEATH,
October 12th, 1845.

FRIENDS,—In the United States of America, 3,000,000 of our fellow-beings are held and used as beasts and things; they are living without legal marriage in a state of concubinage; are without any protection to family relations and endearments; have no control over their offspring to train them up for God as rational, accountable beings, but are obliged to yield them up, soon as born, to be reared as brutes for the market; they have no control over their own persons, and are robbed of the capacity to make anything their own; are incapable of being a party to a civil or criminal suit, and of being witnesses against their oppressors in civil or ecclesiastical courts; are liable to be seized, at any moment, and sold to pay their master's debts; are forbidden on pain of death, to attempt to change their condition, and to rise from brutes to men, from Slaves to freemen; are transmitted from parents to children as goods; are denied the means of moral and intellectual improvement; are punished with stripes, imprisonment, and death, for acts which, in all others, are regarded as christian virtues and duties; are bought and sold "like other live stock;" are shut out from the comfort and hopes of redemption by Jesus Christ, as far as it is in the power of man to shut them out, and are compelled to live in absolute heathenism; the sole end of their existence, is "the profit of the master;" their powers of body and soul, their civil, social and domestic rights, and relations, their time and eternity, are all merged in the pecuniary interests of their owners. They are fed, clothed, reared, worked, disciplined, baptized, brought into the churches,—taught that there is a God—a judgment to come—and an eternal state—to enhance their price in the market.

Who holds them in this condition? Not the Slave *Laws*,—nor the *system* or *institution* of Slavery. Laws are nothing—institutions are nothing—without *men*; but the living Slaveholders and their abettors reduced them to Slavery and continue

them in it. Every living Slave in Amcriea was horn free, and was stolen and enslaved hy the living Slaveholders and their apologists.

How are 300,000 Slaveholders enahled to hold 3,000,000 of their fellow-men in this state of wretehedness? Solely hy the power of that publie sentiment of the world, whieh, in the language of Dr. Cunningham, aeeords to them the ehaeater of "*respectable, useful, honoured, faithful, evangelical christians.*" Holding and using man as property does not exelude them from respeetability.

These 3,000,000 of Slaves, from their dark prison-house, call to you for help. By one act you have it in your power to make Slaveholding exeerahle, and to carry eonviction to the conscience of every Slaveholder. How?

SEND BACK THAT MONEY.

Your Delegates went to Ameriea,—were respectfully and earnestly entreated by Abolitionists not to join in ehristian fellowship with Slaveholders. They heeded not that entreaty—but, in behalf of the Free Chureh, formed a chureh and ministerial alliance with "*traders in human flesh;*" and as a reward, reeeived a portion of their profits. This money reeeived from the south was given by the Slaveholders *solely* on the ground that you were to receive them into good and regular standing as ehristians and ehristian ministers. It was the reward of your aeknowledgment of their respeetability and christianity,—for had you refused to reeognise them as members and ministers of Christ, you never could have ohtained a farthing of their iniquitous gains. The Slaveholders said to you, in effect, through your delegates, Doetor Cunningham and others—"Reeeive us to your eommunion and pulpits as christians and christian ministers, and we will share with you the fruit of the unpaid labour of our human 'chattels' to enable you to huild your ehurehes and pay your ministers." In an evil hour your delegates consented,—reeeived the reward, and put into your treasury the priee of your Saviour—bought and sold in the persons of His "little ones;" and those who pursue this traffie you are now pledged to reeeive to your eommunion and pulpits as members of the hody of Christ—so *long as you retain the reward.*

In the language of Doctor Duncan, I ask:—"Has the Free Church nothing to do hut sit down at the Lord's table with these unmakers of men, with sueh traders in human flesh? Is every Free Chureh to have a stone wet with the blood of the Slave? Is this the eommencement of the Free built Churches of Scotland?"

Yes—you *must* sit down "at the Lord's table with these traders in human flesh"—every Free Church *must* have a "*Slave-stone*" in it—if you keep that money—for you have agreed to do it, and this was the condition on whieh *alone* the reward was given.

Had the Slaveholders seized Doctor Cunningham, when he was

among them, and sold him as a Slave—and offered you the price —Would you have taken it? How, then, can you receive the price of the body and soul of the injured African?

You cannot bear an efficient testimony against Slavery, while you keep that money. Say what you will against the *system*, the *institution*, or even against the Slaveholders, it will be of no effect —for you must fellowship them as *christians*. They bought your christian fellowship, paid you the price, and you have it in your treasury, and you cannot take back the fellowship unless you give up the price. This is the position taken by your own

Doctor Candlish, who says—"Ought they to accept pecuniary aid from churches implicated in the question of Slavery? This question simply resolved itself into the larger question—Were they to keep up fellowship with these Churches?" "The question of the acceptance of the money turns on present communion."

Thus you must "sit down at the Lord's table with unmakers of men—with these traders in human flesh"—while that money remains in your coffers.

Three millions of Slaves lie at the door of your Assembly beseeching you not to give the countenance of your Church fellowship to their oppressors. Their tears, their mental and spiritual darkness and degradation, cry out against your compact with their spoilers. Send back that money—and annul this "covenant with death," and it would speak to the consciences of the Slaveholders as no words could speak; and overawe, as with the omnipotence of truth, the Slaveholding sentiment of that nation. Send it back, and earn the grateful thanks of the broken-hearted Slave, and secure to yourselves the approbation of your conscience and your God. Can you doubt that God would approve the deed? You cannot.

By all the tender sympathies of human brotherhood from which the Slave is excluded; by all the dear hopes that cluster around Calvary, in which the Slave is not allowed to share; as you honour God and respect his image in man, which is bought and sold in the persons of your imbruted brethren,

SEND BACK THAT MONEY.

Henry C. Wright.

G. GALLIE AND Q. DALRYMPLE

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